

776 The low mountain Kei Ani at the base of the valley now called Atu Ona, the ancient name of which was Vevau, was called Mouna-tauna-etua (mountain landing place of the gods). It is said that anciently all the gods from all the different islands of the group used at certain times to congregate at this mountain, the crest of which was regarded as a temple (*me'ae*). The probability of this valley and the surrounding region's having been the place of original settlement of the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas has been discussed in connection with settlement of the islands.

So far as I know, the original gods of creation were never represented artificially nor thought to be embodied in any visible object. Père Pierre (4) says that Tehitikaupeka, one of the gods of the sky, was represented in the form of a bird. All the images at the tribal temples, however, seems to have been representations of the tutelary tribal deities, which were ancestral. On the other hand one would suspect that there must have been images, or representation of some kind, of Tana-oa at the platforms on Fatu Uku where offerings were made to him by fishermen. The tutelary tribal deities may be said to have had also human embodiments in one sense, the inspirational priests having been regarded, at times of possession at least, as the actual living embodiments of the gods.

[784] In every valley and bay there were certain things, products of land and sea, or sometimes colors, which the people were forbidden to touch. Père Pierre (4), who recorded a great number of these *tapu*, speaks of them as things "*tapu* or dedicated to the gods." *Tapu* in this way in Taiohae were chickens, freshwater eels, red pigs, and fish called *u'ua* (*tapu* almost everywhere), *tatue*, and *heheimanu*. These could be eaten only by the priests. (See *Tapu*.)

SPIRITS

SPIRITS OF HUMAN BEINGS

774 The separable soul or spirit of a human being was called *kuhane* or *uhane*. Such spirits were conceived of as being peculiar to human beings, never belonging to other animate or inanimate objects. Human spirits or souls manifested themselves as ghosts with most of the usual phenomena associated with such spectres. Ghosts of the living might be seen at night in dreams when the spirit of the dreamer was free from his body and wandering, but the ghosts of the recently dead were the more likely to be encountered. The ghost of a man who had died three weeks before our arrival at Atu Ona was supposed to be still wandering when we reached that valley, but was soon forgotten. Such ghosts linger about the familiar

scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being 774
seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at
night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their
sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—
natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of
the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not
being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy
or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits
of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual
sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living.
It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became
vehine hae. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and
visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He 774
says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven 751
orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then
passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two
halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were
rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of
a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts
at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes orna-
mented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used
in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on 775
ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer
was living:

The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its
actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The
ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when
the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the
houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet
odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used
in embalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to
visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very un-
pleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially
terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the
ghost of a living person, and M— has killed a number of persons by shooting their
ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is
asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon
it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and
destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes
it. M— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out
at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always
specially instructed. M— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully
pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive
 ● 774 peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The
 [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit
 [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

727 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would
 754 dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was
 expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

RELIGION

776 In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the
 [771] Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development
 of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first
 group included the great creation deities and the minor deities
 —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and
 the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethno-
 logical workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too ex-
 clusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been
 written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion
 that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little
 or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among
 the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural
 phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals
 which were closely associated with their natural provinces.
 Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea
 and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood
 would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman
 for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there
 were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who
 were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these
 were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that
 only human spirits were really interested in human beings.
 First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of
 dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods
 of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To
 understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point
 to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of
 the individual and the soul.

• 774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a
 double or *uhane*, corresponding to our concept of the astral

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living.

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty.

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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